



SOCIAL ACTION DIGEST®

John LaFarge, S.J.

The Vice of Timidity

Rev. John LaFarge, S. J., associate editor of AMERICA magazine, popular author (The Manner Is Ordinary; An American Amen) remains, in spite of his 81 years, one of the most incisive, avant garde spokesmen of socio-cultural problems of modern American life, particularly in the sphere of interracial issues. Condensed from WORLD CAMPUS, (Maryknoll, N. Y.; Subscription: \$1 a year), April 1961, pp. 2-3. WORLD CAMPUS is published monthly, October through May, and has found an enthusiastic audience among American and foreign college students. WORLD CAMPUS is strongly recommended to SOCIAL ACTION DIGEST readers, especially those who live among students.

Most of us were pretty badly distressed over the recent manifestations of racial hatred in largely Catholic New Orleans. According to "Life" magazine, the New Orleans story occupied next to top place in foreign reports of events in the United States, and Charles E. O'Neill, a native New Orleanian, tells the same story in detail in "America" for Dec. 7, 1960.

The question I find people here are continually raising is: how is it that Catholics, by and large, know so little about the Church's teaching on the racial issue? New Orleans Catholics themselves have been asking: why have we heard so little about it in church? Why so little from any source, until quite recent times? There are a lot of answers to that question. Here I merely wish to pinpoint one item in particular, which is timidity. The vice of timidity has inhibited us to an appalling degree from "raising the issue."

When I say "us," I mean everybody, for a timid attitude has affected clergy as well as laity, emphasizing all the more strikingly the many brilliant exceptions. And when I use the word "vice," I mean just that, for timidity is not a virtue but a moral curse, condemned by nearly every page of the Bible's Old and New Testament.

The timid person is happy at vesting himself in the silken robes of prudence. But the truly prudent man foresees the future, and seeks the courage to face it, and acts accordingly.

The work of Christ's Kingdom requires **persevering** laborers in the vineyard. It needs men and women who refuse to be intimidated by a certain type of noisy reactionary propaganda, which tries to attach some sort of subversive label to anyone whose actions appear to upset their comfort and their complacency. When people lack the will to do their part in combating systematically and

intelligently a notorious social evil, it is easy to stand on the side lines and cast mud at those who roll up their sleeves and get to work.

The timid man can excuse himself by bemoaning: "If we only had more encouragement from the clergy. My pastor, for instance . . ."

Well, it would be fine if your pastor, or your diocesan official, were to give you a resounding whack on the shoulder, and hail you as an honor to the Church and to the diocese; or if the same ecclesiastic were to give you nice, precise directions that would spare you the gruelling labor of investigating and judging before acting, of verifying the narrow and safe way between anxious circumspection and foolhardy enthusiasm.

If the laity, however, men or women, are really to fulfill their high vocation in the Church, they will—in a spirit of genuine obedience—not be waiting to be told but will be firm enough, and at the same time humble enough to go on their own, as best they can, using what guidance they can obtain.

Much of our timidity arises, I think, from our failure to grasp the depth and scope of God's plans and consequently the Holy Spirit's work for the unity of the human race. This year 1961, when our Holy Father John XXIII urges us to pray and work that all men may be one in Christ, calls for great courage in the cause of religious reunion. The Pope calls for a distinctly positive approach, not a merely negative or defensive attitude. The same recommendation of a positive, constructive policy applies to the quest for social unity as well. It is the width of the Church's scope that baffles us. The greatness of the Christian vision of time and eternity, rebukes our hesitation.

Neither anger nor argument is the answer to camouflaged timidity. The reply is found in the experience

of the few, but growing number who have learned of the secret, overwhelming power of a divinely inspired hope, when it is grounded in divine faith and takes effect in a universal charity.

The study, the practice, the manifestation of such charity is the laity's job, one that I imagine will be stressed in the conclusions of the coming Ecumenical Council. It is the layman who is called to bring the teaching of our faith right down to the level of the hard core of daily living, of family and professional life. The parishes, in particular, increase in importance as a field for lay enterprise, enmeshed as they are in all the in-

terlocking complexities of urban change and urban planning and rehabilitation. You will say again: "The attitude of the pastors . . ." But the Catholic alumni and alumnae who have genuine goods to offer, and are willing to do the work, will win their approval in the end.

Against such involvement timidity will raise its usual brood of objections. Nothing will more please the subversive elements in our society than to see the sacred cause of Christlike charity paralyzed by the merchants of anxiety. There is danger in any form of public activity. Mistakes, often gross blunders, will be made. But it is far more dangerous to be inactive.

Discriminatory Aspects of the Labor Market of the 60's

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Following are excerpts from the first half, and the full text of the second half of Mr. Buckley's excellent study read before the Catholic Economic Association's Annual Convention at Saint Louis, Missouri, on Dec. 28, 1960. Reprinted with kind permission of the author.

The discriminatory aspects of the labor market provide an area of analysis where there exists a very close relationship between economics and moral principles. The Catholic Bishops of the United States, in a statement issued on November 14, 1958, emphasized that the heart of the race question is moral and religious. They further stated that segregation has led to the denial of basic human rights in the fundamental fields of education, job opportunity and housing. Job opportunity has been defined as the right to prepare for a job; to be hired and promoted without discrimination; and to be welcomed to equal membership in a trade union. Msgr. John A. Ryan, one of the founders and the first honorary president of the Catholic Economic Association, has stated, "In all cases of employment discrimination, the human dignity of the negro is outraged and the virtues of justice or charity, or both, are violated. The negro worker is not treated as a man possessing a natural right to reasonable intercourse with his fellows, nor as a brother having the same needs and claims as the white employer and the white employee. Such discrimination, whether practiced by employees or employers, is definitely immoral."

It is my purpose to consider some of the economic factors which are involved in the discriminatory aspects of the labor market. It is recognized that discrimination involves many groups. I intend to limit my discussion in this paper, however, to negro workers because they represent the largest minority group seriously affected by job discrimination. One out of every ten workers in the United States is a negro. The United States Department of Labor's recently issued bulletin, "The Economic Situation of Negroes in the United States," contains many

of the basic data used in this analysis. Data limitations preclude an economic analysis of most of the groups except negroes.

The economic progress of the negro has been closely related to the extent to which white manpower is in short supply. This influence was evident, as far as the negro was concerned, during World War I when the decline of immigration from Europe coincided with an increased demand for manpower by the armed services and war industries. The most spectacular economic gains for the negro have come, however, during the last 20 years. During the period 1940-1960 the proportion of negro men employed as operatives, craftsmen, professional, technical, and kindred workers doubled. The proportional increases in all these occupations were significantly greater for non-white than for white men. The proportion of negro women in clerical work was almost nine times greater in 1960 than in 1940 and for negro men it was over four times greater. The percentage of negroes in sales work doubled during this period.

The number of non-whites working in Federal, State and local government rose from 214,000 in 1940 to 855,000 in 1960, a fourfold increase. The proportion of non-whites to all government employees rose from 5.6 to 10.7%. The President's Committee on Government Employment Policy reported recently that the number of negroes employed in upper-grade white collar positions by Federal agencies in five large cities has nearly doubled in the past four years.

Since earnings vary with occupation, the relative rise in negroes' occupational levels noted above is reflected in their earnings. The difference between median annual earnings of white and negro persons is large. In 1958, white men earned a median wage of \$4,569 compared to \$2,652 for non-white men. White women averaged \$2,364 compared with \$1,055 for non-white women. Between 1939 and 1958 the negro wage and salary income increased relatively more than for whites. In 1958, the median wage and salary income for negro male

workers was 58% of the average for white males compared with over 41% in 1939. The corresponding percentages for non-white female workers were 45% and 36%, respectively.

These averages are reduced by the inclusion of many part-time or part-year workers. If figures are limited to those who worked a full year, non-whites do relatively better. For full year full-time work, non-white males in 1958 averaged \$3,368, which was 65% of the rate for white males.

When family rather than individual incomes are compared, the negro-white difference is somewhat less, as a higher proportion of negro family members are in the labor force.

Anticipated Occupational Changes

The United States Department of Labor has made projections of anticipated changes in our labor force and in our occupational and industrial structure between 1960 and 1970. My major concern in this paper is the important implications of these changes for the negro worker.

By far the greatest increase in the rate of employment growth during the next 10 years is expected in the professional and technical occupations. We expect an employment increase of about 41% in this group of occupations during the 1960-1970 decade, a growth rate of over twice that of the labor force as a whole.

Although the per cent of negro men in the professional, technical, and kindred worker occupational group doubled in the past 20 years, it is still only 4%, compared with over 11% of white workers in this type of employment. Almost half of the negro men in this group in 1950 were teachers and clergymen and most of them were employed in the South in these occupations. The major occupations of negro women in this group were teachers and professional nurses, many of whom were employed in the South.

An occupational group closely related in many ways to the professional worker is that of proprietors, managers and officials, which is estimated to increase about 24% in employment during the 1960-1970 decade. This is a group in which only 2.7% of the non-white men are employed, compared with 14.6% of the white men. A higher proportion of the negroes in this group are self-employed proprietors in retail trade and in eating and drinking places than is the case of the whites. The rate of growth will be much greater for the executive and managerial group in business than for proprietors of small enterprises where the negroes are concentrated.

The rate of growth for the remaining white collar group, clerical and sales workers, is estimated at 27%

during the 1960-1970 decade. Approximately 5% of the non-white men, compared with a little more than 7% of the white male workers, are clerical and kindred workers. The difference between male sales workers, however, is much greater, with about 2% of the non-white and 6.5% of the white male workers in this occupation. A very great disparity exists between the percentages of white and non-white female clerical and sales workers. About 9% of the non-white and 33% of the white women are in clerical work. Only 1.5% of the non-white women and about 9% of the white women are in sales work.

The only blue collar occupation in which a larger percentage of the white workers are employed than of the non-white workers is the craftsmen, foremen and kindred worker group. An increase of 24% is anticipated in the employment of these workers during the 1960-1970 decade; 9% of the non-whites and 20% of the whites are in these occupations. Over half of these negro workers were located in the South in 1950.

The semiskilled group, which has been one of the fastest growing and the one with the greatest number of workers, is expected to increase at a rate of around 18%, which is slower than the rate of growth of the nation's labor force in the next decade, and of the other occupational groups we have discussed thus far. About 25% of the non-white men are in this group, compared with 19% of the white male workers. This is the first occupational group we have discussed thus far in which the percentage of the total non-white men employed is greater than the white. About 15% of both white and non-white women are in this category of semiskilled workers.

The greatest difference between the proportion of white and non-white workers in a single occupational group is found in the service workers, where 32% of the negroes are employed compared with only 10% of the white workers. The proportion of negroes in the lower paid service occupations, such as charwomen, janitors, porters and private household workers, is great compared with the whites. For example, 37% of non-white women are private household workers compared to only 6% of white women. It is anticipated that there will be an increase of 25% in the next decade in service workers. Most of the growth is expected outside private households. Nevertheless, some rise in employment of domestic workers is likely, in view of the increasing number and size of families and the rising number of working mothers with young children.

The unskilled labor field is one where no increase in labor requirements is expected during the 1960-1970 decade. This is an area where 23.3% of the non-white male workers are employed compared with 6.3% of white men. A decrease of 17% is estimated for farm employ-

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3. Illinois	6%	7. Connecticut	4%	11. Texas	2%
4. Massachusetts	5%	8. Missouri	4%	Other States	43%

ment, where about 13% of the negroes are employed compared with 8% of the whites. Nearly all of these negro farm workers are located in the South.

Implications of Occupational Changes for the Negro

A major factor in determining what is likely to occur during the decade ahead is the economic climate in which change will take place. The Employment Act of 1946 expresses the intention of the Federal Government to assure the maintenance of favorable economic conditions. This gives us a basis for assuming that the 1960's will be about like the 1950's in terms of economic development with no severe depression, but with some ups and downs in the business cycle. It should be recognized that unemployment rates are generally higher among negro than white workers. One factor is the disproportionate number of negroes who are in unskilled work where unemployment is regularly higher. Another is the frequently lower seniority ratings of negro workers, because of their more recent entry into factory and office work. This latter factor declines in importance to the extent of the length of the period of prosperity. About 14% of the non-white male workers, a large proportion of them from unskilled and semiskilled occupations, were unemployed and seeking work in 1958, compared with an average of about 6% of white workers. By 1959, both rates had declined, but that of non-whites had declined relatively less. About 11% of non-white men were still unemployed, compared with 4.6% of whites. The rate of unemployment of the negro may drop if he is able to shift from blue to white collar occupations.

Professional and Technical Workers

To what extent will the negro participate in the expansion of employment in the professional and technical group where the rate of growth will be the greatest? As the result of the shortages in the scientific and engineering professions, there is already an increasing willingness of large companies to hire negroes in these fields. The qualified negro graduate now has a chance to compete with the white graduate in these professions. This breakthrough would have greater significance if there were only more negroes qualified to take advantage of this opportunity. Out of approximately 28,000 engineers graduated in 1958, less than 200 were negroes. The absence in the past of economic and educational opportunities in the scientific and engineering field has discouraged negroes from preparing for this occupation.

Negroes will probably be in a better position to take advantage of the opportunities which will be available in the rapid rise in employment of technicians, such as engineering aides and electronic specialists, which is accompanying the expanded employment of engineers and scientists. This work does not require the years of preparation necessary for the professions and the education needed for this work can be obtained from a number of sources available to the young negro.

One rapidly expanding field within the professional worker group where the negro is already employed to some extent is the teaching occupation. It should be recognized, however, that 85% of the negro teachers were located in the South in 1950. A very uncertain element in the picture is the effect integration of the schools will have on the negro teacher in the South. It seems reasonable to anticipate that there will be an increase in employment of negro teachers in the North, especially in

large urban centers where shortages are anticipated.

Other expanding areas within the professional worker group in which negroes are presently employed to some extent are professional nurses, dietitians, medical and dental technicians, and social welfare workers. Negroes should share in the occupational opportunities in all of these fields to a greater extent than at present. As the result of the shortages anticipated in the expanding accounting and auditing field, it may be possible for negroes to break through to some extent providing they have the necessary preparation. With the rise of income and number of negroes in the North, there should be an increase in demand for dentists, lawyers, and physicians, especially in the negro community. There may be some decline for these services in the South as migration continues.

Managers, Officials and Proprietors

It is anticipated that the rate of growth in the number of self-employed proprietors will continue to decline. The trend toward the formation of larger businesses has resulted in a decreasing rate of growth in a number of firms in recent years. In the retail field, for example, organization and improved transportation are spurring the establishment of supermarkets and other types of large stores, which have the effect of replacing many small stores—the small general store and the corner grocery store. Since most of the negroes in this occupational group are proprietors of small stores, principally in the South, it is likely that job opportunities may decline for negroes in this area. Integration of eating and drinking places may further affect this situation.

The number of managers and other salaried officials in business organizations and government is expected to increase at a relatively rapid rate. This is an area where the negro has made relatively little headway to date as far as the private sector is concerned. Since there will be a shortage of workers in the 35-44 age group which normally supplies a large proportion of our executives and managers, there may be opportunities for a breakthrough for the qualified negro workers who are now employed in manufacturing, trade, finance, insurance and real estate. There is also the possibility that negroes employed in scientific and technical work will begin to move over into management as white engineers and scientists frequently do. This is, however, a long time trend, since there are so few negroes employed at the present in jobs from which managers are selected.

No doubt greater progress will be made by the negro in more responsible positions in the Federal Government and many State and local governments. The shortages of workers in the 35-44 age group should offer negroes opportunities for greater advancement in government than in private employment since there are more negroes in government jobs from which supervisors are selected. It is possible that more negroes may be placed in foreign service during the decade of the 60s.

Clerical and Sales Workers

It is anticipated that the number of clerical positions will continue to rise, but at a slower pace than during the past several decades. Consideration must be given in projecting future negro opportunities in the clerical field, however, to the over-all effect of the use of electronic data-processing systems which will displace many clerks in routine and repetitive jobs, such as sorting,

filing, and operating small machines, and create a few new higher skilled and usually better paid jobs. Workers in jobs requiring the use of considerable judgment or contact with other people, such as secretaries, receptionists, claim clerks, complaint clerks, and bill collectors, will be least affected by office mechanization and automation. Although the negro has made progress in the clerical field in recent years, it has been to a greater extent in the lower paid jobs and those which do not require contact with the public. Whether or not negroes will be able to continue the progress made in the clerical field will depend to a great extent on whether they have the skills which will be in short supply in this area. It will also require that they make greater inroads in industries such as finance, insurance and real estate where the growth will be great.

Sales work will continue to be an expanding area but is one where the negro has not made the inroads noted in the clerical field. This is especially true in insurance, real estate and manufacturing where there will be great expansion in sales job opportunities. The educational requirements are being raised continuously. This is an area where there will probably be increases in employment of negroes especially in retail trade. It should be recognized, however, that technological developments,

such as the increasing use in retail stores of self-service techniques, will act as a limiting factor in the growth of retail sales employment. The trend toward the elimination of the small retail store is another factor which may adversely affect negro employment in this field. Consideration must also be given to the possible effect of the efforts made by some negro groups to expand employment opportunities through the use of the boycott. Serious obstacles will have to be overcome for negroes to share to a greater extent in the better-paying sales occupations in insurance, real estate, manufacturing and wholesale trade.

Skilled and Semiskilled Workers

Among manual workers, the skilled groups will show the most rapid growth—particularly large increases are expected among building trades craftsmen, mechanics and repairmen and machinery workers. As the result of the shortages which are expected to continue in this area, the negro should make further gains. It appears, however, especially in the building trade, that the restrictions and competition for admission to apprenticeship programs may continue to adversely affect the

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Excesses of Extremist Groups Deter Anti-Red Progress

By Msgr. George C. Higgins

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In recent weeks at least a dozen syndicated columnists and newspaper editors, in the Catholic as well as the secular press, have noted with alarm that the number of extremist groups which specialize in a very emotional, not to say hysterical, brand of anti-communism is markedly on the increase. These writers, in alerting the American people to this phenomenon, have performed a thankless but a necessary public service.

A "thankless" service, for they will either be casually dismissed by the extremists as babes in the woods or recklessly smeared as Communist dupes. This much I can predict with almost absolute certainty on the basis of personal experience. A "necessary" service, for if the extremists are permitted to go their reckless way without ever being called to time, they may well succeed, by their bullying tactics, in stifling free discussion of controversial public issues not only in the field of foreign policy but on the domestic front as well. In other words, they may eventually succeed in imposing upon this country what one commentator has described as the "silence of fear." This, I think, would be disastrous to the cause of freedom and would play right smack into the hands of the Kremlin.

I do not mean to imply that we can afford to be complacent about the Communist menace. Quite the contrary. In the words of a recent editorial in "Sign Magazine:" "Let us fight vigorously against the Communist conspiracy, both at home and abroad, for it is one. But let us do it in a fair and sensible manner."

The extremist groups referred to above are not fighting the Communist conspiracy in a fair and sensible manner. Some of them, for example, are characterizing President Eisenhower and his brother Milton and the late John Foster Dulles and his brother Allen, head of the

Central Intelligence, as Communists. The fact that these distinguished public servants and many other honorable Americans are being subjected to this kind of character assassination is enough to make a decent man sick to his stomach.

If the extremist groups referred to above are not fighting the Communist conspiracy in a fair manner, neither are they fighting it in a sensible manner. Is it sensible to say, for example, as some of them are wont to do, that Social Security and minimum wage legislation are planned stages on the road to Communism?

Or, to quote from a document recently sent to this writer by a local chapter of the Cardinal Mindszenty Foundation, is it sensible to characterize as a pernicious liberal anyone "who enthusiastically endorses all welfare legislation though it threatens to stifle individual incentive and paves the way to statism and socialism"?

I take this to mean, in context, that all welfare legislation is being condemned as a deliberate effort to advance the cause of Communism in the United States. Does this make any sense at all from the point of view of Catholic social teaching? I think not. And the fact that it emanates from an organization which, on its own authority and for its own purposes, has appropriated the venerable name of Cardinal Mindszenty makes it all the more regrettable.

The good Cardinal deserves much better than this. One would like to see his name associated with the kind of constructive anti-Communism outlined by the late Pope Pius XI in his encyclical of 1935, "Divini Redemptoris." This encyclical calls for a number of far-reaching social reforms which are either being soft-pedaled or, too often for comfort, are being ridiculed by many of the current crop of extremist anti-Communist organizations.

(The End)

Discriminatory Aspects . . . (Cont'd from p. 5)

negroes' opportunities for major gains in these areas. This is a very serious situation as it denies negroes the opportunity to enter the most rapidly expanding industry. In occupations where it is possible in periods of labor shortage to acquire the skills of the trade through experience on the job, in the armed services and in vocational training schools considerable progress should be made by negroes in entering skilled occupations.

The semiskilled worker group is expected to grow at a slower rate than total employment. A larger per cent of non-white males are employed in this occupational group than of whites. Great progress has been made by the negro here. Competition by whites for these jobs may be greater in the future as the result of the relatively slower rate of growth of semiskilled jobs and the failure of the unskilled occupations to expand. Educational standards will no doubt be raised as the result of this competition. Some of the industries where negroes are employed in semiskilled jobs, such as primary metals, may show a decline in rate of employment growth as the result of automation. Negroes should share, however, in the continued expansion of employment in other occupations such as truck driver, bus driver, taxi driver, deliveryman, routeman, auto service and parking attendants, and laundry and cleaning operatives.

One uncertain factor in this picture is the effect the school integration controversy may have on expanding employment opportunities for negroes in the South. The school integration issue already has led to increased tension in integrated plants in the South and has had its impact on industrial hiring. It is difficult at this time to estimate the strength of this countermovement dedicated to supporting the entire system of segregation in the South.

Service Occupations

A much larger per cent of nonwhites than whites are employed in the service occupations and as private household workers. Employment in service occupations is expected to continue to rise substantially and some rise in domestic employment is likely. The most serious limiting factor to the negro continuing to fill a large number of these jobs is the severe competition which will exist as the result of many whites entering this field who would ordinarily become operatives, being denied entry to that occupational group because of higher educational requirements and a limited growth in semiskilled jobs compared to prior periods.

Unskilled Labor

The negro unskilled worker may face a very serious problem during the 1960's as no increase in employment is anticipated in these occupations. There will be only a replacement demand for unskilled labor. It is likely that the unskilled labor supply may exceed the demand. White and negro workers who ordinarily might qualify for semiskilled or service occupations may be forced into the unskilled labor market because of difficulty of competition with those who are better educated.

Farm Employment

The declining area of farmers and farm workers is another where a larger per cent of negro workers are

employed than of white workers. It is anticipated that employment on the farms will decline 17% during the 1960-70 decade. The revolution in Southern agriculture will undoubtedly continue, with the result that there will be much less demand for the negro farm worker in the future. It is reasonable to anticipate, therefore, a continuing migration of negroes from the rural areas of the South. Those who remain will be particularly handicapped because they will be older and less well educated, on the average, than those who leave. No matter how rapid the migration from Southern farms continues to be, the birth rate there is so high that large numbers of negroes will undoubtedly continue to till the soil for some time. As Dr. Eli Ginzberg emphasizes in "The Negro Potential," most negro farmers have not benefited from the revolution in Southern agriculture. With limited education and little or no capital or credit, the negro farmer has been left behind in the South.

Methods of Reducing Discrimination

Msgr. John A. Ryan emphasized in discussing the objective of the Catholic Economic Association that we not stop at economic analysis of moral problems but we should suggest remedies as well. He stated that our secondary aim should be the formulation and support of particular economic reform. I would like to conclude, therefore, by referring to some of the methods which have been proposed or tried to assist in resolving this problem.

Our analysis indicates that there should be expanding economic opportunities in the white collar occupations during the 1960-70 decade, especially in occupations where the negro has made relatively little progress in employment. These are occupations where the educational requirements for entrance are high and will probably increase. At present the average years of school completed by all workers are 16.2 for professional and technical workers and 12.4 for proprietors, managers and clerical and sales workers; 75% of the workers in the professional and technical occupations have at present some college education.

The gap in average educational attainment between white and non-white workers is still very wide in spite of the significant forward strides of the last two decades. We in the U. S. Department of Labor are very much concerned as to where the large number of young people, irrespective of color, who leave school before high school graduation will fit into the labor market of the 1960's. They will be increasingly handicapped in competing for jobs because of the greater availability of graduates and decreasing opportunities for partly-educated workers. Studies indicate that the non-white population showed a much higher rate of school dropouts before completing high school than the white population.

The importance of action necessary to better prepare the negro to take advantage of expanding economic opportunities is self evident from our analysis. Students of the problem seem to be in agreement that the basic reasons for the inability of the negro to qualify for more skilled and higher level jobs, even if he had complete equality of opportunity, are related to low incomes, negative family influence for advanced education, inadequate housing, low quality and segregated schooling, and

inadequate vocational guidance. These are areas which are beyond the scope of this paper. It should be recognized, however, that unless great progress is made in these interrelated areas, we cannot expect the negro to be in a position to take advantage of many of the expanding opportunities which should be available to him in the 1960-70 decade.

The moral basis for action on the part of the state in the field of job discrimination appears to be generally recognized by students of the problem. They emphasize that the state has a positive obligation to protect human rights, especially the rights of those least able to protect themselves. The moralist maintains, therefore, that the state is acting within its competence in seeking to protect so basic a human right as freedom from discrimination in job opportunities. It is noted that the National Catholic Conference for Interracial Justice has endorsed the principle of legislation for fair employment practices and has asked for immediate statutory recognition of the President's Committee on Government Contracts. The majority of the consultants, testifying before the Commission on Employment at the Catholic Conference for Interracial Justice in St. Louis four months ago noted the failure of the voluntary method to ensure merit employment in many areas of the economy. They recommended that law therefore was a necessary adjunct to informal processes of education in preventing and eliminating the continued evils of job-bias. The survey conducted by Industrial Relations Counselors shows that the existence of fair employment practice laws or other governmental requirements has been a primary force, second only to the pressure of labor shortages in bringing companies to a decision to employ negroes. Morroe Berger, in his study entitled, "Equality by Statute," found that legislation has resulted in considerable expansion of negro employment.

Many individuals and groups share responsibility for making decisions involving job discrimination, but just and meaningful decisions require adequate information as a starting point. This is true also for the community and for the nation as a whole. More as well as much better national and local information needs to be developed on the resources of groups subject to job discrimination and on their opportunities for employment. The Catholic Bishops' statement of 1958 on discrimination concluded with emphasis on the need of study in this area. The National Catholic Conference for Interracial Justice emphasized a few months ago the necessity of conducting research on minority employment needs. Data which will be available from the 1960 Census should be helpful in further analyzing discriminatory aspects of the labor market.

Much of the progress in the improvement of job opportunities has been due to the work of individuals, private organizations and groups. They have secured acceptance by management and labor of the principle of merit

employment and have helped to establish a climate in the community increasingly favorable to the practice of nondiscrimination. In this connection, I would like to note the pioneer work done by Archbishop Joseph E. Ritter and others in this community of St. Louis in the field of integration. Groups such as Catholic Interracial Councils in a number of cities, the Urban League, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, the National Conference of Christians and Jews, and the American Friends Service Committee are doing work in expanding job opportunities. I have been particularly impressed with the program of the National Urban League—Tomorrow's Scientists and Technicians—designed to encourage negroes to seek careers in professional and technical fields.

The importance of the moral as well as the economic aspect of discrimination in the labor market is emphasized to a greater extent in this area than any other economic problem today as far as I can determine. The study by the Industrial Relations Counselors, for example, concluded that among a significant number of companies the motivating factor for employment of negroes was the personal philosophy held by some individual or group in the management that giving equal employment opportunity to all persons was the right or fair thing to do. One president-owner avowed, for example, that he employed negroes "because it is the only way I can be a true Christian." The most recent book on the subject of Merit Employment by Paul Bullock introduces the subject by emphasizing that nondiscrimination in employment is essential on both moral and economic grounds. The President's Commission on National Goals, in their report issued a month ago, emphasized that discrimination on the basis of race must be recognized as "morally wrong, economically wasteful, and in many respects dangerous." It is the only one of the many subjects discussed by the Commission which was specifically referred to as a moral as well as an economic problem. Secretary of Labor James Mitchell has indicated the relation between the moral and the economic factors in the following statement: "We cannot afford discrimination in the future. Neither our conscience nor our economy will permit it. Consider the figure of a Negro, or a Jew, or any other minority, standing before closed doors while the Country cries out for his skill and imagination and ability."

I would like to conclude with a statement from Dr. Eli Ginzberg's excellent book entitled, "The Negro Potential": "For hundreds of years the private conscience and the public morality of America have been weakened by the guilt we have carried over our treatment of our Negro . . . The greater challenge that now faces us as a leader of the free world has at last forced us to recall and to act upon Lincoln's warning: 'Those who deny freedom to others deserve it not for themselves, and, under a just God, cannot long retain it.'"

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Christian Revolution

By Vincent J. Giese

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The struggle for world peace today is not only a struggle against a Communism which has a certain calculated military strength, a war potential, and a war timetable. It is primarily a struggle against a Communism as an idea, as "a materialism which has been raised to the status of an idea," as John Courtney Murray, S. J., has reminded us, an idea "which offers a total explanation of human action and human history—a complete guide for men."

If this is true, then there are other calculations to make. We must also assess our own democratic idea. How strong is it? Does it have the toughness of a religious idea? Or is it, likewise, another kind of materialism? These questions the Christian conscience can pose. The time is long overdue for us to set our own ideal mobilization program in motion.

What the democratic idea needs at this critical moment of history, when we can win all or lose all according to the spirituality we offer mankind, is the transforming character of Christianity. The tragedy of our times, as Emmanuel Mounier has pointed out, is that the influence of Christianity has been one of disassociation from our culture rather than a positive construction or even

direct opposition. Yet when Christianity is most true to itself, it introduces into the world a heaven with immense powers of transformation.

Only a transforming idea can meet the revolutionary challenge of Communism and at the same time attract the free nations of the world. If we limit the world crisis to the area of the military and the diplomatic, with an "enlightened self-interest" towards the rest of the world, we will alienate the free nations of the world.

We call for an Incarnation of Christ in the hearts and minds of all men, and in the social, political, and economic institutions of our society. To do this the Christian must have a working knowledge, a thorough grasp, of the social and economic factors of the twentieth century. He must know the political structures in which he participates as a citizen.

More than this, however, the Christian must have a yardstick of values other than sociological, by which to measure the times in which he lives. Christians must bring to bear on all problems the weight of the Gospels and also the weight of Catholic doctrine and social teaching, the wisdom of the Church, the inspiration of the saints, the fullness of the liturgy, the thrust of the lay apostolate.

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